

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /005 R

66664

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R 232310 Z MAR 73

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TO USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 054387

FOLL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM COPENHAGEN 21 MAR 73 REPEATED TO YOU
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 0586

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, DA

SUBJ: DANISH- AMERICAN RELATIONS

REF: STATE 048973, 049337; COPENHAGEN 0519

1. SUMMARY: THE DANES ARE OBVIOUSLY ANXIOUS TO " WARM UP" THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE US. THE GOVT HAS BEEN UNCOMFORTABLE AT THE ALLIANCE- WIDE CRITICISM OF ITS DEFENSE BILL AND DOES NOT WANT TO BE ACCUSED OF BEING ANTI- AMERICAN. FACTORS WITHIN THE RULING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY ALSO BEAR ON THE DESIRE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS. FOREIGN ECONMIN NORGAARD SHOULD BE INVITED TO VISIT WASHINGTON BEFORE JULY 1, BUT THERE WOULD SEEM NO GOOD REASON TO EXTEND SIMILAR INVITATIONS TO DEFMIN OLESEN AND FONMIN ANDERSEN AT THIS TIME.
END SUMMARY.

2. I BELIEVE THE CONVERSATIONS WITH ASSTSECY STOESSEL REPORTED IN REFTELS, AS WELL AS AMB BARTELS' EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH THE DEPUTY SECY ON MARCH 9, FAIRLY WELL REFLECT THE CURRENT FEELING OF THE DANISH GOVT ON THE SUBJECT OF RELATIONS WITH THE US. FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, MESSRS. RUSH AND STOESSEL HIT EXACTLY THE RIGHT NOTE IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH BARTELS, PARTICULARLY IN EMPHASIZING
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THAT WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO BE FAITHFUL TO OUR COMMITMENTS IN ONE PART OF THE WORLD AND NOT ANOTHER, AND THAT WE EXPECT OUR ALLIES

TO UNDERSTAND THIS. THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN QUIBBLING WITH BARTELS' COMMENT THAT AFTER VIETNAM DENMARK COULD BE A " COMPLETELY LOYAL" ALLY OF THE US, EXCEPT PERHAPS TO NOTE THAT THIS LOYALTY WILL PROBABLY BE BEST DEMONSTRATED IN QUESTIONS ON WHICH THE DANES AGREE WITH US.

3. WE HAVE REPORTED IN EARLIER MESSAGES, MOST RECENTLY AFTER MY TALK WITH FONMIN ANDERSEN MARCH 12 (COPENHAGEN 0519), THAT A WARMER BREEZE IS BLOWING FROM COPENHAGEN AS REGARDS OUR RELATIONS. THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THIS. FOR ONE, THE DANES FEEL THAT THEY ARE BEING UNCOMFORTABLY EXPOSED IN AN ANTI- AMERICAN (OR ANTI- ALLIANCE) POSTURE. THEY HAVE SQUIRMED UNDER THE UNFAVORABLE PUBLICITY THEIR NEW DEFENSE PROGRAM HAS RECEIVED FROM THEIR ALLIES, AND HAVE SNAPPED AT SECYGEN LUNS FOR HIS COMMENTS. THEY ARE AWARE THAT THEY ARE THE ONLY NATO COUNTRY WITHOUT AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR OR AMBASSADOR- DESIGNATE, AND THEY WONDER WHETHER THIS REFLECTS DELIBERATE US POLICY.

4. ANOTHER REASON FOR DANISH CONCERN OVER RELATIONS WITH THE US IS LINKED TO INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE MINORITY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVT IS FOREVER WALKING A TIGHTROPE. ALONG WITH ITS OTHER PROBLEMS, IT DOES NOT WANT TO BE ACCUSED OF BEING DISTRUSTED BY, OR UNABLE TO GET ALONG WITH, ITS MAJOR ALLY. THERE IS A " FELT NEED" FOR A SECURITY ANCHOR FOR DENMARK, AND IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THIS MUST INVOLVE THE US. BUT A GOVT WHICH DEPENDS ON LEFT- SOCIALIST (I. E; ANTI- AMERICAN) SUPPORT FINDS DIFFICULTY IN OPENLY ARTICULATING THIS NEED. THUS FONMIN ANDERSEN, IN A SUMMARY OF DANISH FOREIGN POLICY MARCH 17, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE US ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE CREATES CONFIDENCE IN THE ALLIANCE SECURITY POLICY, USED THE ARGUMENT THAT AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL " WOULD MEAN THAT A CONTINUED POLICY OF RELAXATION WOULD BE HAMPERED." QUITE CLEARLY HE FELT HE HAD TO EXPLAIN THE NEED FOR AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE BY LINKING IT WITH THE POPULAR ISSUE OF DETENTE.

5. THE PRESENT EVIDENT DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE US CAN BE SEEN ALSO AS ONE ELEMENT OF THE SEE- SAW STRUGGLE WITHIN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT OR BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER MEMBERS, ALTHOUGH NEITHER OF THESE DISTINCTIONS IS ABSOLUTE. IT IS PROBABLY NOT ENTIRELY COINCIDENTAL THAT THE TREND TOWARD IMPROVING RELATIONS BECAME VISIBLE SHORTLY AFTER BUDGET CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTER PER HAEKKERUP BEGAN TO RISE IN INFLUENCE SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. HE REPRESENTS THE OLDER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND WAS FONMIN FOR FOUR YEARS IN THE 1960 S. HE CONSIDERS HIS TIES WITH THE US CLOSE AND HAS EMPHASIZED TO ME ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS RECENTLY HIS DESIRE TO SEE US/ DANISH RELATIONS RESTORED TO THEIR FORMER CORDIAL STATE. PRIMIN KRAAG DID NOT CARE FOR HAEKKERUP (BOTH ARE ECONOMISTS); WHILE PRIMIN JORGENSEN IS BASICALLY OF A DIFFERENT TEMPERAMENT, HE IS ASTUTE ENOUGH TO REALIZE HE NEEDS HAEKKERUP AND HAS GIVEN HIM CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM. HAEKKERUP IS PRESUMABLY CAREFUL TO AVOID MINGL-

ING IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS SO AS NOT TO STEP ON ANDERSEN'S TOES, BUT HIS VIEWS CARRY WEIGHT IN THE CABINET AND IN THE PARTY. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY HAVE NOT BEEN AS FREE-WHEELING SINCE HAEKKERUP HAS RISEN IN POWER.

6. HAEKKERUP AND FOREIGN ECONOMIC MINISTER IVOR NORGAARD BOTH HANDLE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS IN THIS GOVT; HAEKKERUP ON THE INTERNAL AND NORGAARD ON THE EXTERNAL SIDE. NORGAARD IS YOUNGER, AND AMBITIOUS TO MAKE HIS OWN MARK. HE REALIZES THAT HE HAS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR INTERNATIONAL EXPOSURE WHEN HE TAKES OVER AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF EC MINISTERS JULY 1, AND THERE IS A FEELING HERE THAT HE WILL DO A MORE EFFECTIVE JOB FOR DENMARK IF HE CAN REFLECT THE LATEST US VIEWS ON QUESTIONS OF COMMON INTEREST WITH THE EC.

7. I THEREFORE REPEAT THE RECOMMENDATION IN COPENHAGEN 0519 THAT NORGAARD BE INVITED TO WASHINGTON BEFORE JULY 1. IN FACT, THE DANISH MEDIA ARE ALREADY ASSUMING THAT HE WILL BE INVITED. FOR EXAMPLE, CHRISTIAN WINTHER OF DANISH RADIO SAID MARCH 15 FROM WASHINGTON THAT NORGAARD IS GOING TO WASHINGTON SOMETIME IN MAY OR JUNE FOR THREE DAYS OF TALKS WITH THE STATE DEPT, TREASURY, AND THE DEPT. OF COMMERCE. WINTHER ADDED THAT IT IS "UNTHINKABLE" THAT THE SUBJECT OF US/DANISH RELATIONS WOULD NOT ARISE IN THOSE TALKS, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD BE PLANNED AS TALKS ON EC MATTERS. HE ALSO PREDICTED THAT ANOTHER CABINET MEMBER, NOT PRIME MINISTER ANDERSEN, WOULD ALSO GO TO WASHINGTON THIS YEAR. THIS IS PRESUMABLY A REFERENCE TO THE SUGGESTED VISIT OF DEFENSE MINISTER OLESEN (STATE 049337). AS THE DEPT IS AWARE, ANDERSEN IS ALSO HOPING TO MAKE A VISIT AT SOME TIME.

8. I SEE LITTLE PURPOSE IN INVITING EITHER OLESEN OR ANDERSEN FOR VISITS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE OLESEN VISIT WOULD CERTAINLY BE MISUNDERSTOOD, NOT ONLY IN DENMARK BUT PRESUMABLY IN OTHER NATO COUNTRIES, SO SOON AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE DEFENSE REFORM BILL WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED. AN INVITATION TO ANDERSEN COULD ALSO
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WAIT, IN MY VIEW. HE HAS BEEN DISTINCTLY UNHELPFUL IN REGARD TO VIETNAM, SEEMS DETERMINED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE RECOGNITION OF NORTH KOREA, WHICH CAN ONLY CAUSE US DIFFICULTIES, AND HE WILL, IN ANY CASE, HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET THE SECRETARY HERE DURING THE NATO MINISTERIAL IN JUNE. I SUSPECT THAT THE SUGGESTIONS FOR THESE VISITS ARE LINKED WITH THE DESIRE OF THIS GOVT TO INDICATE THAT IT IS ON CLOSE TERMS WITH THE USG AND THAT THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WHICH AROSE DURING THE VIETNAM PERIOD HAVE NOW PASSED. AN INVITATION TO NORGAARD, HOWEVER, WOULD BE AS MUCH IN OUR INTERESTS AS IN THE DANES, AND IT WOULD NOT HAVE QUITE THE SAME EFFECT AS AN INVITATION TO EITHER THE FOREIGN OR DEFENSE MINISTERS. I HOPE THIS INVITATION CAN BE FIRMLY FIXED DURING ASST SECY ARMSTRONG'S VISIT HERE NEXT WEEK.

8. IN SUM, OUR OVER-ALL RELATIONS WITH DENMARK ARE ON THE POINT OF IMPROVEMENT. IN THIS PERIOD WE SHOULD CONTINUE THE LINE ADOPTED

BY MESSRS. RUSH AND STOESSEL OF WELCOMING THIS IMPROVEMENT, WHILE
CONTINUING TO IMPRESS ON THE DANISH GOVT THAT WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED
TO BE CONTENT WITH AN ALLY THAT PROFESSES ITS DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP
AND ALLIANCE WITH US WHILE CRITICIZING US PUBLICLY FOR HELPING
ANOTHER ALLY. ALONG WITH THE INVITATION TO NORGAAARD, THE DANES ARE
EAGERLY AWAITING THE NOMINATION OF A NEW AMBASSADOR. WHEN THAT IS
ANNOUNCED, IT WILL SIGNAL TO THEM THAT THEIR CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE
THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE US HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL.
DUNNIGAN UNQUOTE
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 07 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE054387
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/ NE: STEPHEN P. DAWKINS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730348/abqceieo.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 048973, 049337; COPENHAGEN 0519
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <14-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 971224
Subject: DANISH- AMERICAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, DA
To: NATO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005